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Ireland's Cause

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An Address Delivered Last Year at a Banquet of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

I APPRECIATE more than I can say the very kind and sympathetic reception of the mention of my name, and I can assure you that I consider it a rare distinction to be called tonight to respond to the toast of "The Day We Celebrate."

My sacramental name, Patrick, and my sacred office of bishop give me a peculiar title and right of being a spokesman at this dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. My father, as a protest against the anti-Irish sentiment prevalent at the time of my birth, determined to call his first-born Patrick. My mother, in an outburst of prophetic love, foresaw her babe a bishop. Here am I, Patrick, the young bishop, a native New Yorker, on the feast of St. Patrick, Bishop and Confessor, the Apostle of Ireland, addressing what is perhaps the most brilliant and impressive gathering of Irishmen the world over tonight.

It is good to be here for more reasons than one. I am heartened by this gathering of representative citizens of this community, who are not fearful of the bugaboo of hyphenism; the ghost of which, I trust, is laid forever. Wise or foolish it may appear in saying I am conceited enough to think that no better American lives than myself. Equally I am convinced that I am the better American because I am Irish, and the better Irishman because I am an American. I believe that America has done more than we can possibly conceive to keep alive and aggressive the national hopes of Erin. It would be a most un-American act, a most unholy thing, for us to be ashamed of our Irish ancestry in faith and race. Especially is this true when we bear in mind that there has been a mutual and abiding contribution of all that is best and all that counts from America to Ireland and from Ireland to America. Neither things present nor

things to come; neither height nor depth; neither might nor right can ever possibly destroy the fact of this intimate relation. Because of this experience of history, this splendid assembly gathers, at the one hundred and thirty-third anniversary dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, to salute the venerable flag of Erin, and entwine it most reverently within the protecting egis and all-embracing folds of "Old Glory."

No taint in our loyal and undying allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, if we publicly proclaim our reverence for the hallowed memories that cluster around the land of our forefathers. Our love for Ireland intensifies our love for America. Erin has fought, suffered and bled through ages, as perhaps no other race, for the eternal principles our Flag and our Constitution stand for; namely, liberty and justice, civil and religious, racial and individual, agrarian and industrial.

"The Day We Celebrate" conjures up in vision the land of the Gael, not merely the little sorrowful Emerald Isle of the North Atlantic, but the greater Erin, the land of the Celt's dispersion, measured by the four corners of the earth, reaching over the seven seas, unto continents and islands afar. This night and this day, in every clime, the children of the Gael, and their children's children, gather by common and holy impulse, to hear and tell the story of Ireland's glory, to chant and lament her epic of sorrow, to pray and hope for her deliverance as a nation from the house of bondage.

A unique catholicity not only marks her religious faith, but equally stamps her life, her character, and her influence. On the stage of the world's history, Erin has played many parts. She has been, in the highest sense, saint and scholar, apostle and priest, sage and soldier, bard and poet, prince and prisoner, exile and martyr. The tents of her exiled children are pitched in every land under the sun. The rare gifts and rich talents of her sons, denied opportunity on their own native soil, have found splendid and undying expression in successful and distinctive achievement all over the world. The stars at night keep eternal vigil unto the resurrection morn over the final bivouac of her warrior dead, heroes fallen asleep on nearly every battlefield of medieval and modern times.

A French historian tells us that, within fifty years after the fatal 1691, 400,000 Irish soldiers died on the battle-fields of France.

IRELAND'S SAINTS AND SCHOLARS.

In ever nook and cranny of Christendom, the footprints of her missionaries, saints and scholars can be visibly traced by historic monuments of religion and civilization. Two summers ago I found myself in a defile of the Apennines, kneeling at the tomb of St. Columbanus, an Irish missionary of the sixth century. Trained in the monastic school at Bangor, in Erin, he was afire with apostolic zeal and with a passion for austerity and learning; he crossed to France, where he labored for twenty years; then down over the Alps to Bobio, in northern Italy, where he established one of the most famous foundations of monasticism and culture the world has ever seen. To this day, after 1,300 years, St. Columbanus is revered and honored by the Italian people of the north from Milan to Genoa.

Many centuries past, Ireland found her place in the sun. She has been more than anything else a builder of empire, not for herself, but rather for all mankind; not for material greatness and greedy conquest, but for justice and right, for honor and freedom, that humanity might be served, liberated and exalted. Dreamer and visionary she may be, who casts over the expansive horizon of her hopes and ambition a mystical charm and spiritual spell. Indeed, there is that intangible and indefinable something about her history that stirs unto exultation of spirit the Irish heart, and wins the kindly sympathy of nearly all peoples.

Through cycles of years, first of glorious achievement at home and abroad in the arts of peace; then through the long dark centuries of oppression and injustice in tribulation unspeakable, Erin as a nation, smiling amid her tears and weeping through her smiles; her body broken, but her soul unseared and unscarred; affliction on her brow, but gladness in her heart; overcome by superior brute force, but unconquered and unconquerable—Ireland, I say, steps out of the pages of time a pathetic figure—noble, unique, mysterious, spiritual and immortal.

We shall strive in vain to understand Ireland's past, present, or future, if we approach the matter in any other way than a spiritual mood. It is through the soul of Erin alone that we shall comprehend, in a measure, the integrity, the perpetuity, the continuity, and the sublimity of her national ideals. The world has seldom looked on the like before. Military might, mastery of the sea, conquest of commerce are not of her kingdom; to her they mean, as they have nearly always meant, tyranny, piracy, and a condition of servitude.

The confines of this all-embracing catholic spirit are coterminous with the bounds of the earth and touch the very precincts of Heaven itself. By the north star of faith in God and His all-wise Providence, Erin has fixed her course in fidelity and loyalty and has never swerved. Under the Southern Cross in exile and penal colony her soul has been tried by fire, but has never been consumed. Wherever and whenever the rising sun of humanity and justice appeared among nations, Erin was ready to serve the cause of freedom against tyranny, no matter what the sacrifice; her sons have valiantly gone and borne in large measure the burden of the day and the heats for others. Over the western ocean, in the crimson glory of the parting day, with her face turned away from her persecutor, she has visioned the shores and gates of a land of promise, verily a city of God, in the mighty Republic of the West.

In sharp contrast to what I have been saying let us take another angle. Renan, the famous French agnostic, sang the *Nunc dimittis* of Ireland, a generation ago, when he wrote: "Alas! It too is doomed to disappear, the Emerald set in the western seas." Though Renan was keen enough to recognize the spiritual quality and force of the Celtic national character, his irreligious mind was incapable of judging honestly according to the highest standard any people can have, namely, the spiritual, the immaterial and the immortal. To such as Renan, and he is a type of many, you and I, and our kind, represent the Gael everywhere sighing and lamenting over a lost cause, a memory of something passed forever. To those who know us not, we seem but wailing at Ireland's tomb, chanting her everlasting requiem, while from sentiment

we keep aflame the funeral torches of a long past and pathetic memory. Nothing could be further from the fact. The national spirit of Erin is neither dying, nor dead. Purified in a furnace of tribulation her national ideals and aspirations are consecrated more than ever to a sublime endeavor to actualize what is almost unattainable, in a world and an age that knows not God and His justice.

IRELAND'S HIGH IDEALS.

What think you of a people, with the wonderful history of the Irish, who will prize above national ideals, how accepted and fought for among nearly every race, those ideals that center around the Chalice of Ardagh, a sacrificial cup indicative of her worship and love of God; the Book of Kells, called the most beautiful book in the world, an illuminated manuscript of the Four Gospels, preaching truth and justice; and the Cross of Cong, the sign and pledge of civilization and immortality! These three venerable relics, treasures in the national museums, Dublin, are symbolic of religion, truth and civilization, which have always appealed more to the Irish heart than the merely human and material greatness of military power, naval supremacy, and world-wide trade. Religion, truth and civilization alone reach the soul of any people and are the only informing and uplifting forces to bring any country to recognize and respect the rights of God, the rights of man, and the rights of nations. If I have seemed too insistent on the spiritual values and standards of the Celt, I speak not merely as a churchman. It is my judgment that the conservation of the

spiritual and moral in national ideals must be maintained if democracy, in its highest concept, is not to perish, or at least be perverted into a curse instead of a blessing.

Reverence, patience, and fortitude ennable nations as well as individuals, and are virtues that leaven the mass of democracy, and save it from anarchy, revolt and demagogery. No higher sanction exists than the spiritual, which touches the hidden and eternal fountains of man's very being. The divinity that doth hedge the king finds its counterpart in the reverence for law that true democracy demands from its votaries and beneficiaries.

Not even here in our own beloved land have the formative influences at work been entirely faithful to the soul instincts of democracy. We have been too busy money-making, brick-baking, mine-digging, and iron-working, good and necessary in themselves, but overshadowing too largely other and nobler functions of a great people. The mind's eye of America has been fascinated with material progress and industrial success, with the glint and the glamour of enormous wealth and gigantic enterprises in commerce and business. Nor have we been slow to feel, now and again, that all is not well, that under the mask of material well-being some enemy hides his hideous form, that something more vitally constructive and abiding must enter American democracy if this nation is to continue to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

It seems to be the judgment of conservative minds that the fabric of international law has been so structurally shaken and weakened as to need reconstruction. Naturally, the United States is much concerned and should have a very prominent part in the councils of the nations. Our country should be prepared to submit a constructive and organic plan of international democracy, adjustable equally to republican and monarchial forms of representative government. That plan should be based on the principles of justice, right, and reason, axiomatic in their character and fundamentally expressive of international morality.

America might plead, with good grace, for a worldwide application of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine. Mark you, it is the principle underlying the Doctrine,

rather than the policy itself. Senator Root, in a speech on the Monroe Doctrine in April, 1914, said:

The fundamental principle of international law is the principle of independent sovereignty. Upon that all other rules of international law rest. That is the chief and necessary protection of the weak against the power of the strong. Observance of that is the necessary condition to the peace and order of the civilized world. By the declaration of that principle the common judgment of civilization awards to the smallest and weakest State the liberty to control its own affairs without interference from any other Power, however great.

America might urge, with even greater reason, the writing into international law a Magna Charta of rights and liberties of little nations, which once for all should cease to be merely buffer States between the mighty and the strong. Not until the status of the smaller Powers be determined and guaranteed on the firm basis of equal sovereignty and freedom with the stronger nations, shall the ever-present incentive to conquest of territory be removed.

IRELAND'S RIGHTS AS A NATION.

Remember, that the great war of 1914 is the aftermath of the Balkan War of 1912. Dr. Brown, Professor of International Law, at Princeton, writes: "A civilization which could tolerate the denial of the just claims of the Serbian nation, and of the Serbs as a race, has surely merited the fearful chastisement it is now receiving." Both the Entente and Central Powers, as well as the President of the United States, have publicly declared themselves in favor of doing justice to the weaker nations, and of recognizing their national rights.

Surely an American principle of democracy this! The forty-eight States of our Union are sovereign States; and the sovereignty of Delaware, with a population of 200,000, is as sacred to the American people as that of the Empire State, with its 9,000,000, or that of the United States with over 100,000,000. If such lofty sentiment shall prevail in the Peace Council, then Belgium, Poland and Ireland, not to speak of Denmark, Holland and Switzerland, will win solid and perpetual guarantees of racial freedom and national independence, without let or hindrance from the stronger Powers.

Sparta and Athens were sister cities of ancient Greece, but radically different in spirit. Lycurgus and Solon were their respective law-givers. The laws of military Sparta would have been entirely unsuited to cultured Athens. It has always been the fixed conviction of the Irish, and experience confirms it, that England has not, and cannot be expected to have, the genius, sympathy, or wisdom to frame just and equitable laws for Ireland.

In the possible event that neither the proposition of a world-wide extension of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, nor the suggestion of a Magna Charta of rights for the smaller nations be entertained, surely the very minimum of justice cannot longer be denied nations like Poland and Ireland, namely, the right of self-government. I am convinced that Ireland's greatest opportunity in modern times has come in the council-chamber of the representatives of all nations. It is not for me to suggest who shall prepare and present the case of Ireland. The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick also might well take thought of the matter.

Fifteen centuries have rolled away in Irish history since Patrick on the Hill of Slane lit the Easter Fire of Christianity. It was and is the eternal and spiritual fire of life and resurrection. It has never been quenched either on the altars or at the firesides, either in the mind or heart of Erin. The undying hope it has enkindled lives on, and grows stronger with the passing years. Ireland's destiny is still on the wing. She is a chosen arrow in the quiver of the Almighty who shall in His inscrutable and wise Providence one day flash across the firmament of the nations the mighty and sublime purpose that lies locked in His secrets unto the dawn of Ireland's new life and brighter day. Erin's testament has been long since written into Divine and human history. Her soul she has absolutely and irrevocably commended to God, Creator. Her body she has sacrificed, and would sacrifice again, to bear the human sorrow of other blood than her own. Her mind she has consecrated to the ministry of civilization and law to the world over. Her heart Malone, with unparalleled magnanimity, she has presented to America, whom she loves better than her very self.

May I say in conclusion that Ireland will ever stand out in history as the triumph of failure, the stooping to conquer, the reaching the heights through the depths. Holy Writ proclaims this paradox as God's way. I seldom think of Erin without recalling the words of the old Prophet of Israel, Zacharias: "O flee ye out of the land of the north, for I have scattered you unto the four winds of heaven, saith the Lord." After the glory He hath sent me to the nations that have robbed you; for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye." Patiently and bravely we wait the hour of Erin's deliverance from the dark womb of injustice. The poet sings:

Justice lives, though judgment lingers—
Angels' feet are heavy shod—
But a planet's years are moments
In the eternal day of God!

Ireland's Influence on Civilization

DR. AUSTIN O'MALLEY.

*A Paper Read at the Irish Race Convention,
Philadelphia, February 22, 1919.*

AN argument for the recognition of Ireland's claim to self-determination in government and to recognition by the Peace Conference is that she has never lost her right to independence, and has done more to advance the civilization of the world than all the small nations that have been recognized and freed. She has done more than Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia combined, and if we except the single work of the Poles under Sobieski against the Turks, we may include Poland. Ireland had a federal government many centuries before England and France as much as dreamed of such a social condition, and 1400 years before Italy and the United States came into existence as federal powers; and she has never to the present day surrendered her claim to self-government. At the end of the twelfth century a small party of adventurers from Wales and southern England, of the same class and with the same motives as the Mexican brigands who recently annoyed our frontiers, raided Ireland and were defeated. They finally settled

in a space about the size of the District of Columbia and were forgotten there. Four hundred years later, at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the English, without any provocation or right, began a systematic subjugation of Ireland. The Irish kept up a guerilla warfare for a century and then quit, because the Irishmen of fighting age, who had not been killed or sold into slavery in America, were in exile in military service on the continent, building up France, America and Spain. Despite this absence of the fighting men Ireland had self-determination in government until Castlereagh, a century ago, robbed her of her Parliament. From 1170 to 1919, then, never for an instant has even a respectable minority of the Irish people relinquished a full claim to its right of self-government. This opposition of the Irish to surrender, apart from any other reason, deprives England of all proscriptive right to Ireland, and even of a squatter's right. Occupation by conquest after a just war can give a title to a territory, but there is no occupation, even if it has lasted for a thousand years, that justifies protested occupation by brigandage.

The common supposition that the fundamental cause of the opposition of the Irish to the English is religious, would be foolish if religious differences were not at least a secondary factor in the condition. The Irish and English will never make a homogeneous contended nation, because they differ widely in blood; they are two distinct races, and races which have been at enmity since before historical time. The Irish are made up of four races, the Mediterranean Basin aborigines, the Middle European Alpine men, a few Norsemen and Danes, and among these Norsemen are the Cambro-Normans, and the Celts. The Celts are the men who have always ruled Ireland since the first century. The Norsemen, Danes and English in Ireland, a negligible quantity, are Teutonic in origin. The English people, however, are decidedly Germanic. They have the same southern European aborigines as the Alpine men who are in Ireland, but the infusion of Teutonic Saxons from the Cimbric Chersonesus, the Jutes, Angles, Norse and Danes is enormous. The Celts in England were chiefly Belgae, Suenones and Veneti, who themselves were made more Teutonic

and Wendic than Celtic. The Irish Celts were all Gaels except a small colony of Damnonian Brythons in Western Connaught. The Irish in their government have always acted like Gaelic Celts because their leaders were Gaelic, or Gallic, Celts; the English in their government have always acted like Germans because their leaders have been Teutonic, Northern Germans. The southern Germans are not Teutonic; the Bavarians, Austrians and Wurtembergers are Alpine men in subjection to the Germans—for the Austrian Germans were originally Bavarians. The English are more Teutonic in blood than the South Germans, and the Gallic or Gaelic Celts and the Germans have been traditional enemies since long before the Christian era. The present war is between Celt and German primarily in its leaders, and has been fought along the old Marnean Fields. Since there is this opposition in race between the Irish and the English, and since the Irish have proved that their national aspirations are unconquerable, it is a matter of mere common-sense for the English to placate the Irish, not to keep up an interminable quarrel; and the only means possible to placate them is to give them self-determination in government.

IRELAND TAUGHT EUROPE.

This Irish people, which has never been conquered, asks self-determination because, as has been said, they have done more for civilization than all the free States combined. When the Roman Empire disintegrated between the fifth and seventh centuries through internal degeneracy and invasion by the Germans, Huns and other northern and eastern barbarians, Irish teachers almost alone preserved human learning for western civilization. Historians constantly mention the fact that Latin and Greek literatures were preserved for the world by the monks of Europe, but they neglect to say that the monasteries of Europe from Milan to the Hebrides, from the days of Colum-Cille and Columbanus to the destruction of the Irish monasteries by the Teutonic Norsemen and Danes, were almost all founded by Irishmen. At the after the Roman Empire had faded away. The oldest present day there are 155 Irish Saints venerated in Germany, 46 in France, 32 in Belgium, 12 in Italy and 8 in Scandinavia, who christianized and taught these nations

transcription of Horace in existence is in Berne, and it is written in Celtic characters and has glosses in Irish. Any man in Central and Northern Europe between the sixth and ninth centuries who knew Greek was either Irish or he had been educated by Irishmen. The same is true of mathematics.

The Germanic English were christianized and taught to read and write by the Irish monks. The Anglo-Saxon alliteration used in metrical sagas until the Norman invasion of England is an Irish invention and was imparted to the English by the Irish, as is rhyme in every poetic literature in the world. Vernacular poets on the continent of Europe did not use rhyme until the ninth century, and the early rhymed Latin hymns were written by Sedulius and other Irishmen. The Latins and Greeks had no notion of rhyme. The very term rhyme is a Celtic word. The rhyming in the "Tain Bo Chuailgne" is perfect and most complicated, and the "Tain" is over two thousand years old. There is no epic of growth in the world that remotely approaches the excellence of the Irish "Tain" except the Iliad, and every saga in the Iliad is Celtic.

As rhyme was imparted by the Irish to European civilization certainly all modern music is Irish in origin, at least, as far as the melodic element is concerned; and almost certainly harmony is also Irish. Modern music is differentiated essentially by the ternary phrase-form in melody from the single and binary phrase-forms of mediaeval music, and this ternary form begins with the melody "Eiblin a Ruin," written by Carol O'Daly at the end of the fourteenth century. About the year 653 St. Gertrude of Brabant sent to Ireland to ask St. Ultan for teachers to instruct her nuns at the Abbey of Nivelle in the art of psalmody. John Scottis Erigena, an Irishman, is the first European writer to mention the primitive form of counterpoint called *organum* a century before anyone else wrote of it. Moreover, the first dictionary in mediæval Europe was written in Ireland by Cormac mac Cullinane, and it is a polyglot dictionary; the first proof that the earth is a globe was made by the Irishman Ferghil O'Farrell, Bishop of Salsburg, who died in 785; and the first love songs of Europe are Irish, as Green in his

"Short History of the English People" says, "For a time it seemed as if *** Celtic and not Latin Christianity was to mold the destinies and the churches of the West." Old Gaelic was used in the church liturgy from the Hebrides to Bobbio in Italy and only the presence of the Pope in Rome made Latin finally prevail. In modern times Ireland has produced more scientists than all the small nations combined, and some of these have been among the greatest in the world. Sir Robert Boyle, born in Waterford in 1627, was the "father of modern chemistry;" Sir Hans Sloane, the physician, who was born in Ulster in 1660, made a scientific collection which was the foundation of the British Museum. Sir George Stokes, of Sligo, was the greatest mathematician of the nineteenth century, at the least he was the equal of any man that century produced; Sir William Hamilton, of Dublin, the astronomer, was another of the discoverers in higher mathematics; John Tyndall, of County Carlow, was one of the greatest physicists of Europe in his day; Harvey, Archer and Allman were biologists of the highest rank. In pure science Lord Kelvin, born in Belfast in 1824, was one of the greatest masters that ever lived in any age of the world. It is questionable that he was surpassed by even Sir Isaac Newton himself. Kelvin's work in electricity and navigation has influenced the civilization of the entire world essentially.

Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, was the grandson of an Irishman. Marconi, the inventor of the wireless telegraph, is half Irish; Henry O'Reilly built the first telegraph line; Lord Kelvin invented the method of cabling under the ocean. Fulton, who invented the submarine, and McCormick, who invented the reaping machine, were all Irish.

The Dublin School of Medicine has influenced the science and art of medicine throughout the world. In internal medicine Stokes, Corrigan and Graves are still authorities. Quain's "Anatomy" is still the chief textbook in English. Almroth Wright, another Irishman, is now one of the greatest authorities in the world in vaccination therapy. He discovered the anti-typhoid vaccination which has freed the armies and navies of the world from

a plague which only twenty years ago was one of the greatest horrors of war. One of the most eminent surgeons we ever had in America was John Murphy of Chicago. O'Dwyer's invention for intubation in diphtheria has saved innumerable lives throughout the world. Emmet, who still lives to our honor, was one of the leading gynecologists of the world in his day, Ephraim MacDowell, Hunter Maguire, McBurney, Howard Kelly, John Keating and John Deaver are other famous American physicians of Irish blood.

The greatest orator that spoke English was the Irishman Edmund Burke, although the best French rhetoricians rank Daniel O'Connell almost as high. Curran, Grattan, Sheil, Meagher and Father Tom Burke had no superiors in English not excepting Fox and Gladstone. Channing, the Prime Minister of England, and another of the great orators, was a Derryman.

In dramatic literature by far the best work done in England since Shakespeare's time was done by Irishmen. The most subtle and difficult dramatic form after high tragedy is pure comedy; not the romantic comedy like that of Shakespeare, but the technical pure comedy, in which Molière is one of the world's masters. There has never been a single pure comedy produced by a German, Italian or Spaniard; the comedies of the world are French and English. Congreve, an Englishman who was reared from early childhood in Ireland, wrote comedies which are now somewhat dimmed by age, but the comedies which are ever new and everlasting are those created by the Irishmen Sheridan and Goldsmith. Sheridan's "School for Scandal," "The Rivals," "The Critic" and "The Duenna," and Goldsmith's "She Stoops to Conquer" are unsurpassed in the comedic literature of Europe. George Farquhar, of Derry, is in the company of Congreve. His "Beaux's Stratagem" and "The Recruiting Officer" are still living works of dramatic art. Our English term "boniface" for a landlord is derived from one of Farquhar's characters. Other remarkable Irish dramatists are George Bernard Shaw and Synge. Shaw is the cleverest dramatist we have had in English in over a century, and Synge's "Riders to the Sea" is the highest tragic fragment we have had for that period.

Besides these dramatists the Irishmen Dean Swift and Laurence Sterne, who created "Tristram Shandy" and "Corporal Trim," are among the greatest names in modern English literature. Other classic writers are the Irishmen Steele, Sir Philip Francis, George Berkeley and James Ussher. Minor classic authors are Sir John Denham, Nahum Tate, Lever, Lover, Maria Edgeworth and Thomas Moore. The novelist George Meredith had, like Marconi, an Irish mother. Edward MacDowell, the leading American musical composer, was of Irish descent; Crawford, the father of Marion Crawford, the novelist, who made the statue of Columbia on the dome of the Capitol at Washington, was a son of Irish parents; Henry Inman, Copley and Moran, the painters, were of Irish descent; St. Gaudens, the great sculptor, Kelly and Boyle, are as Irish as Victor Herbert.

Five American Presidents, among whom is President Wilson, were of Irish descent, and a sixth, Roosevelt, had, he said, some Irish blood. During the past century over fifty Governors of States have been Irish. The only Senator that represented three different States was James Shields of Tyrone. The most influential Chief Justice the United States has had was Roger Brooke Taney, who was of Irish descent. The present Chief Justice, Edward D. White, is the grandson of a '98 rebel. One of the best Chief Justices England has had was Lord Russell, an Irishman. One of the most eminent lawyers we have had in this country was Charles O'Conor.

THE UBIQUITOUS IRISH SOLDIER.

Volumes have been written on the Irish soldier all over the world. Owen Roe O'Neill, Leopold O'Donnell and Prim of Spain, Hassan Bey O'Reilly, Ambrose O'Higgins and Admiral Patrick Lynch, of Chili, Montgomery, Guy Carleton, Count Peter Lacy, of Russia, Zachary Taylor, Napier, Méade, MacCooke, Early, Phil Kearny, Cleburne, MacMahon and Mangin of today's French army. Wolseley, Roberts, French, the Duke of Wellington are Irish, and the superior of all in the opinion of General Grant was Phil Sheridan. Grant ranked Sheridan "with Napoleon and Frederick and the great commanders in history." There were hundreds of others.

The War of the Revolution in America, which freed

and created the United States was really an Irish war. The Tories of New England, after the Revolution, broke into the procession and began to claim that they beat the English. They have repeated this so often that they believe it themselves now, and they certainly have fooled the remainder of America. From the end of the war in Ireland in 1651 until the Revolution, all the Irish that could leave that country did so. They went into military service on the Continent, but they poured into America incessantly from Maine to Georgia. Between 1649 and 1672 alone, 10,000 Irish came here. In 1729 nearly 6,000 Irish came to Philadelphia and only about 250 English. During the first two weeks of August, 1772, 3,500 Irish entered Philadelphia. From 1700 to 1789 more Irish came here than any other European people.

When the Revolution began eleven of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Irish, beginning with John Hancock, the President of Congress. An Irishman, Thompson, made the first copy of it for Congress, and an Irishman, Nixon, first read it to the people. Dunlap, another Irishman, first printed it. George Taylor, a signer, was the first ammunition maker in the war. Pollock, an Irishman, contributed £300,000; Fox, another Irishman, contributed £900,000. In one time of financial stringency of £315,000 contributed in Philadelphia, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick here gave one third, or £112,000.

The first armed attack on land against the British in the Revolution was made four months before the Battle of Lexington at Portsmouth by John Sullivan, afterward Major-General. Sullivan. He was the son of Owen Sullivan, of Limerick. The first decisive victory of the Revolution for the American cause was the capture of 1,500 Tories near Wilmington, North Carolina, by Colonel James Moore, afterward General, a descendant of Roger O'Moore of the Rebellion of 1641. The first general officer killed on the American side was Richard Montgomery of Donegal. The first attack on the English at sea was made by the five O'Brien brothers in 1725; the first commodore of the American navy was John Barry of Wexford. A Dr. Warren, who was killed on

Bunker Hill, was an Irishman.³⁰ Four of Washington's Major-Generals, Montgomery, Conway, Sullivan and Knox, were born in Ireland; fourteen of his Brigadier-Generals, among whom was Anthony Wayne, were born in Ireland. Washington's Surgeon-General was also born in Ireland.³¹ When the French came over to end Cornwallis, the first four regiments were Irish to a man.³² The American armies during the Revolution never got above 25,000 men at any time.³³ Major-General Robinson, who was sent here by the English Government at the end of the war to exchange prisoners, and several other contemporaries reported that one-half of the American army had been born in Ireland; one-quarter was German and English and the remaining quarter were native-born.³⁴ Of the native-born many were Irish in descent.³⁵ An exactly similar report was made to the American Congress a few years later.³⁶ The troops of Pennsylvania and Virginia were called by General Lee the "Line of Ireland."³⁷ Stark's two regiments from New Hampshire were all Irish. William MacNevin said in New York in 1809 that if one of the offenses charged upon the Irish, and amongst the many pretexts for refusing redress to the Catholics of Ireland, was that 16,000 of them had fought on the side of the Americans.³⁸ If there were 16,000 Catholic Irish in the armies, there were at least as many Protestant Irish. At Valley Forge whole companies spoke Gaelic constantly all winter. If the United States is today the foremost nation of the world, and not in a condition like Ireland, she can thank, under God Almighty, not the French, but the Irish people. Now let America pay her debt of honor by standing behind the Irish in their demand for common justice and peace.

America's Debt to Ireland

MICHAEL J. O'BRIEN

An Address Delivered at the Irish Race Convention,
Philadelphia, February 22, 1919.

ONE of the many reasons why American citizens of Irish blood believe that the Government of the United States should instruct its representatives at the

Peace Conference to see to it that the principle of self-determination, as enunciated by President Wilson should be applied to Ireland in the same manner as it is about to be applied to the other small nations, is that America owes a debt to Ireland for services rendered, and now is the psychological moment in which to pay it. I believe it is generally admitted, even by England's best friends, that the greatest single force which animated the people of the United States in entering the world-war is the universal sympathy of our people toward France. The spiritual side of our nature was moved at what appeared to be the inevitable defeat of the French, and America being cognizant of its indebtedness to France on account of the aid rendered to us by that nation in the Revolutionary struggle, we entered the war on the side of France and her allies. We have paid the debt we owed to France, and have paid it with interest, and America has well disproved the assertion that "Republics are ungrateful."

But, in the payment of our debts, we should at least be consistent, for we cannot afford to let it be recorded in history that it was only to the strong we were grateful and that in our hour of triumph we turned a deaf ear to the call of a people who also contributed much to the success of the American Revolution. Now, I have read the statements of public men and of newspapers and magazine writers, that America is in no way indebted to Ireland, and historians say that neither Ireland nor her sons took any part in the American Revolution; that we have furnished no evidence on that point; that the Irish did not begin to emigrate to this country until long after the war, and that, therefore, America is under no obligation to the Irish to interfere in this or any other Irish question. That is an assertion that must be met, and I, for one, am compelled to admit that the Irish have not furnished satisfactory proof in support of our claims. It is true we have talked a good deal about it and we have exhibited great gifts of oratory when dealing with the subject, but oratory does not convince the great jury of the people; we must produce some evidence more tangible and more convincing than mere oratory.

American and English records contain an abundance

of evidence in support of the case, and my purpose, in the few moments at my disposal, is to exhibit some few of these proofs and to show that America is under obligations to the Irish, notwithstanding all assertions to the contrary. I have here a number of documents that have never before been exhibited in public. For example, here is a photographic reproduction of an official report from General Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the English armies in America, to Lord George Germain, Secretary of War, taken from the original archives at the Public Record Office in London. It is dated New York, October 23, 1778, and was in response to a communication from Germain dated March 8, 1778, directing Clinton "to draw off from the American army the number of Europeans which constitute its principal force." Clinton related the difficulties of the task and among other interesting things, said: "The Emigrants from Ireland are in general to be looked upon as our most serious antagonists. They had fled from the real or fancied oppression of their landlords. Through dread of prosecution for the riots, which their idea of that oppression had occasioned, they had transplanted themselves into a country where they could live without apprehension and had estranged themselves from all solicitude for the welcome of Britain." This, I submit, was a most remarkable admission for the English general, and proves that the Irish in Washington's army were a very important factor.

Next I show you a photographic reproduction of a letter from one Ambrose Serle, to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State. It is dated New York, September 25, 1776. Ambrose Serle was private secretary to Lord Dartmouth, and was sent here in 1776 as a confidential agent of the British Cabinet for the purpose of determining and reporting upon the real conditions in America and with special instructions "to ascertain the character, strength and personnel of the rebel army." I shall read for you one passage from this letter:

Great numbers of emigrants, particularly Irish, are in the Rebel army, some by choice and many for mere subsistence. They have also many transported felons, who have exchanged ignominy and servitude for a sort of humor and ease, by entering among them. This is further argument against

The transportation of such people in future. Confinement to hard labor at home might answer some valuable purposes there, and would be a real punishment to the convicts. Here, they do Great Britain much injury by bringing over numbers and trades, and so adding strength, already too great, to the force of America against her.

Mr. Serle's characterization of the Irish political refugees as "convicts," and his recommendation that those of the same way of thinking at home be subjected to "punishment," are not surprising; but that he unquestionably knew his business is indicated by his advice to his government to exercise its authority by prohibiting the departure of any more Irishmen to America where they would "do Great Britain much injury" by "adding strength to the force of America against her." The original of this letter is also at the Public Record Office in London.

GALLOWAY'S TESTIMONY.

You have heard much of the American Tory, Joseph Galloway, who testified as to the racial composition of the American army at the Parliamentary inquiry in the House of Commons in 1779. That evidence has been impugned by more than one historian; they assail it as "worthless;" some ignore it entirely, and still others claim no such testimony was ever given. To meet this charge, I show you now a fac-simile of the very first printing of this testimony, in the Royal Gazette of October 29, 1779. See the inscription at the head of this copy of the Gazette, saying it was "published" by James Rivington, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. Will historians now doubt the assertion that this evidence was ever given? I shall read just one question and answer for you:

Q. That part of the Rebel army that enlisted in the service of the Congress, were they chiefly composed of natives of America, or were the greatest part of them English, Scotch and Irish?

A. The names and places of their activity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision. There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America; about one-half Irish, the other fourth were English and Scotch. We have placed too much dependence on this testimony and have gone on claiming that "One-half Washington's army were Irish," but I, for one, do not, as I shall later

show. I know, in fact, that it was only an estimate of Galloway's, and an overestimate at that. However, we also have other evidence furnished by Galloway, in the shape of two letters from him to the Earl of Dartmouth, both from Philadelphia, one dated January 31, 1778, and the other March 4, 1778, both written while he was Superintendent of Police of this city. In one letter he said:

I speak, my Lord, not upon uncertain conjectures respecting the present disposition of the Americans in general. My intelligence is incessant from the most distant part of the Middle Colonies and all the Black Settlements, and such as may be depended on. As a proof of the aversion of the natives of America to the present Rebellion, there are not one in ten of their whole army who are not either English, Scotch or Irish, but by far the greatest number of Irish.

And in the other he said "From the beginning there has been a reluctance in the natives of America to enter into the regular service of the Rebellion." The English, Scotch and Irish, by far the most part of the latter, have principally composed the rebel regular army. The original of the letters of which these are photographic copies are in the archives preserved at the Tower of London.

Here is another precious document which I have discovered. It is a page from the "Diary of Major Joshua Pell," an English army officer, and the very first entry in this diary is under date of June 1, 1776, and reads as follows: "The rebels consist chiefly of Irish redemptionists and convicts, the most audacious rascals existing." Pell's Diary shows that he was only a very short time in America when he discovered this interesting fact. He wrote it after the battle of Trois Rivieres, in which he participated, and I do not, of course, mean to infer that he was referring to the American army as a whole, but to the troops with whom he came in contact on that occasion, namely, the Pennsylvania Line. And that he was justified in thinking that the American "rebels" were chiefly Irish may be inferred from the description which General Henry Lee, of Virginia, gave of these troops:

They were known by the designation of the Line of Pennsylvania, whereas they might have been, with more propriety, called the Line of Ireland. Bold and daring, they were impatient and refractory and would always prefer an

appeal to the bayonet to a toilsome march. General Wayne and his soldiers were singularly fitted for close and stubborn action, hand to hand in the center of the army.

That statement I have copied from General Lee's personal "Memoirs."

BANCROFT'S MISSTATEMENTS.

Now, Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," says that:

The people of Ireland sent against the Americans their best troops and their ablest men (as if the people could have had anything to do with the sending of troops), and that although "the triumph of the Irish Volunteers was one of the first fruits of the American Revolution, the gratitude of the Irish took the direction of loyalty to their King."

What are the facts, as shown in the records of the time? I have examined the official proceedings of Parliament, the American, English and Irish newspapers, as well as numerous other obscure records, and letters and papers of public men of the time, I find from these unquestioned sources of information that all Ireland was in a ferment of excitement from the moment the news came that the American Revolution had broken out; that the people in Ireland burned down the factories where clothing and supplies were being manufactured for the army; that they captured and destroyed supplies on the way to transports; that in every part of the Island the recruiting officers met with absolute failure, notwithstanding the offer of the most alluring awards; that funds and supplies were raised at public meetings and sent to America for the use of Washington's army; that powder and ball and other military stores were shipped out of Ireland for America; that American privateers were succored in Irish harbors; and nothing better illustrates the feelings of the Irish people toward the Americans than the remark made by the great Englishman, Horace Walpole, in his letter to the Countess of Upper Ossory in June, 1776, when he said: "All Ireland is America-mad!" I show you a photograph of part of a letter from Cork, dated September, 1775, to an army officer in Boston, which was intercepted by the captain of an American privateer and published in the Philadelphia papers "by orders of Congress." In this letter the writer said that in the whole counties of Cork and Kerry

the recruiting officers were able to pick up only one recruit, and he was under the influence of a landlord; that the recruiting officers were driven out of the towns by angry mobs, and saying that many of the Irish soldiers in the English regiments destined for America "swore they will never draw a trigger against the Americans, amongst whom they all have relations!" And the writer further said that the Irish soldiers "expressed so much repugnance for the service they were ordered on, that I am fully persuaded the army will suffer severely by desertion." Most assuredly he was a prophet, because I find in the New York and Philadelphia papers, all through the early years of the Revolution, numerous advertisements by English army officers, offering rewards for the apprehension of Irish deserters.

What more significant testimony can be adduced on this point than the letter which Arthur Lee wrote Washington on June 15, 1777, in which he said:

The resources of our enemy are almost annihilated in Germany, and their last resort is the Catholics of Ireland. They have already experienced their unwillingness to go, every man of a regiment raised there last year having obliged them to ship him off tied and bound, and most certainly they will desert more than any troops whatsoever.

Perhaps you have heard of the address which Benjamin Franklin sent the Irish people in 1778, but it is probable very few of you have ever seen a copy of it. Here it is, and a very scarce and precious document it is, I can assure you. It is entitled "An Address to the Good People of Ireland on Behalf of America," by Benjamin Franklin, and as you can see, it is dated Versailles, France, October 4, 1778. Its opening sentence reads:

The misery and distress which your ill-fated country has been so frequently exposed to, and has so often experienced, by such a combination of rapine, treachery and violence as would have disgraced the name of government in the most arbitrary country in the world, has most sincerely affected your friends in America and has engaged the most serious attentions of Congress.

And the closing paragraph reads:

But, as for you, our dear and good friends of Ireland, if the government which you at this time acknowledge, does not, in conformity to her own true interest, take off and remove every restraint on your trade, commerce and manufactures, I am charged to assure you that means will be

found to establish your freedom in this respect in the fullest and simplest manner. Here, therefore, we have an American Congress telling the Irish people that it was their intention to confer upon Ireland her long-looked-for freedom!

IRISH SOLDIERS IN WASHINGTON ARMY.

Now, as to the proportion of Irishmen in the army of the Revolution. I have made a careful analysis of the muster-rolls and the enlistment papers. I took down the total number of men in each unit of that army; then I took down the number of men who gave "Ireland" as their country of nativity, and to this number I added those soldiers whose names indicated without question an Irish origin, and on a conservative calculation I determined that exactly thirty-eight per cent. of the American army of liberty was of Irish descent! I find the extraordinary number of 1,500 officers of Irish birth or of Irish descent, and here I show you a complete list of these officers. My examination of the muster-rolls alone occupied a period of five years! I find those Irish soldiers of the Revolution came from every part of the Colonies. From the pine woods of Maine from the granite hills of New Hampshire, and down the green mountain slopes of Vermont, Irish soldiers flocked to the standard of Washington. Even little Rhode Island furnished a large quota of Irish soldiers, and so, strange to say, did Massachusetts of the Puritans and Connecticut of the "Blue Laws!" And on the muster-rolls of the old Dutch Provinces of New York and New Jersey I find many thousand "Dutchmen" bearing such euphonious names as Kelly, Burke and Shea. And from the shores of Maryland, from the valley of Virginia, from the mountains of the Carolinas, and from away out of the furthestmost frontiers of Pennsylvania, Georgia and Tennessee, Irishmen and their sons at the very outset of the Revolution, answered the clarion call of patriotism, and came to fight, as Irishmen know how to fight, and helped to make this country a free and independent nation. And all the sophistries of historians cannot change or successfully dispute these facts.

My researches for data on this subject have covered a period of twenty years, and have carried me into some

of the most obscure places. I have examined all available records, and the result of this work is contained in a book entitled "A Hidden Phase of American History," recently published for me by the Devin-Adair Company, of New York, and profusely illustrated by documents and rare portraits from the famous collection of Doctor Thomas Addis Emmet. In his work you will find numerous items of evidence similar in character to those I have just shown you. My examination of the Custom House records, the newspapers for forty years prior to the Revolution, the Colonial Records, such as those of the Land Offices and the Courts, and the Parish Registers, prove beyond any possible question or doubt that for many years before the Revolution, multitudes of Irish immigrants were settling in America. So that, after all, there is nothing surprising in the fact that the Irish were so strong numerically in the Revolutionary ranks! And moreover, I have produced records which shatter for all time the "Scotch-Irish" myth, since my analysis of the immigration figures prove conclusively that the Ulster emigrants were in the minority. This is the first time in history that such figures have been produced.

Please do not get the impression that when I mention this book, I am trying to advertise some commercial enterprise. Far from it, for it is a labor of love, pure and simple, my particular method of doing my "bit" for the honor and glory of the race and for the truth of history. But if you have a genuine desire to obtain the facts as to the Irish in the American Revolution, facts of a character that have never been heard of before, procure a copy of this book and then marvel at the audacity of those who would try to deprive the Irish of a place in American history.

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